

14

The Influence of Segregation
upon
Prostitution and upon the Public

BY
DR. HOWARD A. KELLY

Authorized and issued by the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania
Society for the Prevention of Social Disease

1912

OFFICERS

EDGAR F. SMITH, L. L. D., *President*

TALCOTT WILLIAMS, L. L. D.

DR. JAMES TYSON

GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER, Esq.

DR. ROBERT N. WILLSON, *Secretary and Treasurer*

1708 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

FOUNDERS

Dr. W. W. Keen

" Joseph Price

" Oscar H. Allis

" Wm. E. Hughes

" W. M. L. Coplin

" Seneca Egbert

" James M. Anders

" John H. Jopson

" DeForrest Willard

" Thomas G. Ashton

" Jay F. Shamburg

" H. Augustus Wilson

" Edward L. Duer

" William Camphell Posey

" Robert N. Willson

Mr. Charles C. Harrison

" Samuel McC. Lindsay

" Charles S. Crosmen

" Joseph Dana Ailen

" R. Dale Benson

" Robert N. Willson

" James T. Young

" Edgar F. Smith

" Talcott Williams

Rev. Floyd W. Tomkins, S. T. D.

" Louis F. Benson, D. D.

" Robert E. Thompson, D. D.

" Chas. Wood, D. D.

Dr. Ernest Laplace

" B. Alexander Randall

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Edgar F. Smith

Robert N. Willson

Talcott Williams

R. Dale Benson

Abraham M. Beitler

B. Alexander Randall

Jay F. Shamburg

Robert N. Willson, Jr.,

Lawrence Litchfield

Joseph Buffington

William L. Estes

Henry S. Drinker

WOMEN'S ADVISORY BOARD

Mrs. Joseph Mumford

Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson

Mrs. Edward W. Biddle

Mrs. Frederic Schoff

Mrs. Matthew Baird

Miss Laura N. Platt

Mrs. Wm. D. Crocker

Dr. Rachel R. Williams

Mrs. R. R. P. Bradford

Dr. Grace E. Spiegle

Dr. Maud A. Bowyer

Mrs. Samuel S. Fels

THE INFLUENCE OF SEGREGATION UPON PROSTITUTION AND UPON THE PUBLIC

Read at the Public Meeting of the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Social Disease, Philadelphia, February 28th, 1912.

DR. HOWARD A. KELLY

Professor of Gynecology, John Hopkins University

It is an encouraging sign that all over the country men and women are being roused to study this great question involving the debauchery of tens of thousands of both sexes; an immolation of upwards of 100 young women every day in the United States alone upon the foulest altar ever reared, and a holocaust, both moral and physical of a vastly larger number of young men. Nor is it a question of sexual crime alone, for we have also to consider in any treatment of prostitution the concomitant alcoholism which co-operates to fill our police courts with their records of crime, choking our penal institutions and overflowing into our almshouses and insane asylums.

Countless millions are spent yearly in the resorts of crime and lust (fifteen million dollars in Chicago alone), and the foulest diseases are disseminated broadcast through all classes of society. Fortunately, none are exempt from the liability to moral contamination and physical infection, for, if there were any social status capable of conferring an immunity, its members would then surely shirk their duty as responsible guardians of the rest of our poor humanity. If, with the class of prostitutes we are considering, we group in our inquiry the army of dependent neighboring saloons and the liquor interests, both close allies, the magnitude of the evil becomes so vast, as it spreads its hideous slimy, octopus tentacles over the length and breadth of the land, as to defy any effort to comprehend it in its totality. An attempt at a concise scientific statement simply leaves the mind aghast and appalled as when studying the incomprehensible astronomical data relating to the fixed stars.

As we meet to-night to consider this subject, each one of us will inevitably be impelled to determine his or her personal responsibility and relationship to the crimes which surround us on all sides, and even often drag those near and dear to us into the vortex.

So many are the sources and so numerous are the ramifications of this—called by dishonorable pre-eminence “the

social evil" that we must of necessity confine our examination to a single phase of it, namely, segregation, or the setting apart of a certain section of the city to an immoral business, under governmental sanction and control, with a view to checking its growth and rendering it safer for its patrons.

There would seem to be but three alternatives worthy of consideration in dealing with prostitution, namely:

1. Segregation, with or without legalization.
2. Indifference, *i. e.* letting the matter thrive without interference.
3. An active, unremitting crusade, with extermination as its final objective.

The second alternative—indifference—resulting in late years in the development of prostitution into a commercialized business involving seductions and graft on a vast scale, is the only one which has really been tried in this country.

Indifference has been the attitude of the public; while the police and our judges have often insisted upon some degree of segregation. Segregation has, moreover, been a measure adopted and maintained by those most interested, the brothel-keepers, for mutual support and to avoid too great publicity.

Your presence here to-night, the meetings of three international Congresses at Brussels and Madrid, other public meetings like this held all over the country, the formation of numerous societies and commissions of investigation in our large cities, as well as the many successful prosecutions of panderers and bawdy-house keepers, these things all testify to a public conscience awakened to the realization that the policy of indifference or of quasi-regulation is ruinous to the body politic, and brands with infamy every community in which it is permitted to continue when once the facts are known.

Our entire country has agreed to dismiss this alternative as one only tolerable in a state of ignorance of the facts. We will, therefore confine our attention to (1) *Segregation*, embracing, as it always does, certain forms of legalization, and to (2) *Extermination*.

Segregation appeals at once and irresistibly to the average man as the most acceptable plan, when he for the first time approaches the subject, because:

1. It recognizes the fact that the evil is as old as the race, and appears, therefore, ineradicable. Segregation devotes every energy to curbing it.
2. It is a method or policy which has been tried extensively in Europe for over a century.
3. (A most potent reason.) It rids the individual of the necessity of bothering further with the matter, by relegating

the control of prostitution to a set of qualified officers of the law.

This is the attitude so familiar to us all some twenty or thirty years ago. Since that time, in every land, vice has increased enormously; it has taken on new forms in America, copying the worst European prototypes, and its baleful influences have been felt in thousands of new channels.

Any and every definite policy of segregation involves the recognition of prostitution by the law, the investing of certain officials with due authority to control, and the giving to prostitution the status of a legitimate trade. It at once necessitates the employment of a special body of police exercising surveillance in order to keep prostitution and the prostitute within assigned bounds and in order to repress its ever-recurring criminal manifestations. Segregation calls also for the official enlistment and the recognition of a need of the services of certain members of the medical profession who regularly and at intervals of a few days examine the prostitutes in order to certify that they are free from disease and, therefore, safe or to set apart the diseased ones for treatment. Furthermore, it must at least contemplate an acquiescence in the necessary efforts to procure the requisite fresh supply of young women, often virgins, many thousands each year, to fill the places of those dying of disease, by suicide, or thrust out of the door when worn out to enter almshouses or asylums. It also necessitates the provision of adequate hospital accommodation for the multitude of women and men afflicted with those loathsome and highly contagious diseases, syphilis and gonorrhoea.

If I knew of a single argument in favor of segregation, or if I had met with any good results in the shape of an improvement through its means, of the morals of a community in any quarter of the world, or any lessening of disease by its beneficent ministrations, I would place them before you now. I know of none. I do not believe there are any.

I have, therefore, come here to-night to ask each one of you, individually and personally, to stand in line with the most modern advancement in social progress—namely, that of opposing segregation and regulation of vice, because it has been thoroughly tried and demonstrated to be a failure in all the foreign countries in which it has been inaugurated, and in which the system of police control has been far more favorable because far more perfect and less corruptible than in any part of the United States.

I discover that the failure of segregation is admitted by every earnest and pure-minded man and every earnest

woman who has made an unbiased investigation into the matter. Even those whose duty it has been to see it carried out declare the measure a failure. The most earnest advocates of extermination to-day are those who began their inquiries under the strong conviction that segregation was both necessary and feasible.

Let us now begin our inquiry by considering the actual experiences of other countries. Following these conclusive data, I will give you certain authoritative opinions based thereupon. These two lines of argument ought to be convincing and to determine our own judgment and our practice. At least they should prevent us from attempting foolish, already worn-out experiments in such a vital matter, and enable us to avoid that common American pitfall, viz., the taking up of ancient, worked-out problems with which we proceed to deal as though they had never been propounded before, and as though it devolved upon us to illuminate the world by their solution.

I quote the following from Prof. Seligman, who tells us that "The system of regulation in Brussels was long considered a model. At the end of the seventies a series of most outrageous scandals occurred, showing an astounding condition of corruption among police officials and direct complicity between the chief-of-police and the houses of ill-fame. These revelations, which confounded all Europe, somewhat abated the zeal of the enthusiasts for the Brussels system."

At the second international conference, held in Brussels in 1902, the abolition movement was headed by four leading Paris doctors—Dr. Gailleton, the head of the French Delegation; Dr. Gaucher, the successor of Prof. Fournier; Dr. Queyrat, the head of one of the leading hospitals, and Dr. Landouzy, who represented the French Ministry of Public Instruction. These physicians condemned the existing system as utterly worthless.

Although the Abolitionists in France were originally in the minority, the force of the argument, and facts presented by them was such that at the end of its deliberations the Commission voted by a considerable majority that the entire system of regulation, as practiced in France, was so defective and, on the whole, immoral that it ought to be entirely abandoned. Thus, after an experience of more than a century, the French experts came to the conclusion that the whole "Régime des Mœurs" had outlived its usefulness.

Professor Seligman also shows that in Germany excellent constructive work has been accomplished by the Society for the Prevention of Venereal Diseases, founded in 1902. Far better facilities have been provided for venereal patients, chairs for the teaching of venerology have been

established in the universities, courses have been provided in sex pedagogy in the high schools, and millions of leaflets have been issued to enlighten the public as to its danger. The result has been a complete change of front in the attitude of the periodicals and the daily press on the subject. Berlin no longer has any open public houses of prostitution, and has no segregated districts. The prostitutes are, however, still registered and compelled to submit to medical control.

In Sweden the change of opinion has been scarcely less marked than in France. In 1903, after the second Brussels Conference, Mr. Otto Westerburg and Mr. Hugo Tamm, who had been converted to Abolitionism, persuaded the Swedish Parliament to ask the King to appoint a Royal Commission to study the subject. The Commission was formed with nine members, seven of whom were Regulationists. During the course of the discussion, however, all seven were converted to the other side. After several years' work, the Commission made its report in 1901. The members unanimously agreed in recommending the abandonment of the existing system of regulation, while their constructive recommendations included the compulsory notification of venereal disease, and the subjection of confirmed prostitutes to the provisions of the law governing vagrants.

In Norway and Sweden the *police des mœurs* has been abolished, and while some of its power has been transferred to the ordinary police, the provision with reference to compulsory treatment has become a dead letter.

"In Italy a complete system of gratuitous dispensary treatment of all venereal patients was developed in the eighties and the nineties, and paved the way for the abolition of the entire system of police control over women. In 1904 the system was rescinded by administrative ordinance on the ground that 'every sort of direct compulsion for the ascertainment and cure of venereal disease is injurious to public prophylaxis, as it increases the number of persons compelled to conceal their malady and avoid the means of cure.' But some features of the old system are preserved in the Regolamento sul Meretricio in houses of ill fame, in that the Government still recognizes and tolerates these houses. The inmates, however, are entirely free to leave at any time."

Even in Japan, where the celebrated segregated quarter, Yoshiwara, was destroyed by fire a year ago, a movement has been inaugurated with the co-operation of no less important a personage than ex-Premier Count Okuma, to abolish the system of government regulation. A new society, the Kakusei Kai, is now vigorously at work, and is publishing its own journal.

Thus, slowly, but surely, breaches are being made in the

solid ranks of those who, until a generation ago, had no doubt as to the effectiveness and beneficence of the regulation of vice.

The practice has been given up in Denmark except in three provinces. Even Madrid has now the same system as Berlin, and no longer tolerates or recognizes an area of segregation.

At this juncture, let me cite the testimony of several authorities whose names will count for much in a decision. First of all I would consult one of my confreres, Chanfleury van Ijsselstein, who wrote a remarkable pamphlet, as far back as 1889, giving with absolute frankness his experience in investigating the methods of control in use in Paris and Brussels, and his own personal later experience at The Hague, where he was made responsible for the health of the prostitutes. That he was subject to no bias is evident from his declaration that the effort to secure healthy coitus for the public is akin to the question of the purity of the food and drink supply. I quote, *passim*, from his instructive pamphlet:

"Some years ago I went to Paris and to Brussels for the special purpose of studying this question as thoroughly as possible. These two cities had, at that time, the reputation of carrying out the method of official control and treatment of prostitutes in the best possible manner.

"I had opportunities to observe the examination of prostitutes at the Bureau des Moeurs in Paris and of following attentively the methods employed by the medical men. I was also present during the examinations at the public brothels, and I feel it right to say that a large number of women were examined in a manner so superficial that I was astonished.

"On returning from my tour of inspection, I made no delay in seeking an opportunity of applying the knowledge I had just acquired, and I was placed in charge of the examinations at The Hague.

"I applied myself courageously to my task, with all the ardor of a young practitioner who sees a new career opening before him, and whose zeal is stimulated by the feeling that an important branch of public hygiene is committed to his care. There was, at that time no opposition to the application of energetic measures.

"And what were the results of these examinations, conducted, as they were, with the utmost severity? They were so far from satisfactory that at the end of several years I became convinced that I ought to ask to be relieved from an undertaking which was apparently entirely wanting in the usefulness to the public health expected from it in the beginning. How are these negative results to be explained? By the fact that a medical examination, no matter how

carefully conducted, affords no guarantee whatever against contagion. In the course of my unexpected visits to brothels I was obliged to send some two-thirds of the women examined to hospitals.

"Moreover, the severe measures which had been taken aroused the whole body of prostitutes to resistance, and I could not make my evening visit to the hospital without a police escort, so much reason was there to fear that the numerous anonymous threats addressed to me would be put into execution. It should once more be noted that at this period the contagiousness of syphilis through the blood and secretions of a patient in the condylomatous stage was not yet demonstrated. A knowledge of this fact would have led me to withdraw a much larger number of suspected persons.

"From all that has been said I feel myself justified in drawing the conclusion that such a thing as a safe public prostitute does not exist.

"A great many men, who are kept away from brothels by fear of contagion, resort freely to them if this dread is removed, believing that they can profit by such a favorable opportunity with security. I saw clearly, when at The Hague, that the attendance at the public houses increased as soon as the report spread that I was in charge of the examinations. Therefore, the numbers only increased, instead of diminishing, in consequence of the elimination of so many unsafe subjects. And yet, in spite of the minuteness with which the examinations were made, a certain number of persons who had remained abstinent up to that time contracted venereal disease.

"Clandestine prostitution has always been the great obstacle to the adjustment of regulation.

"With public prostitution, on the contrary, things are quite different. Women who practice it are at the disposition of every comer at any time; their houses are veritable dens of debauchery, where liquor is employed, as a matter of course, to destroy men's will power and drive them to commit irreparable sins. Lastly, does not observation teach us that venereal patients who present themselves at clinics or at public hospitals have most frequently contracted disease through frequenting public houses of prostitution?

"What I have already said seems to me sufficient to prove that the suppression of public prostitution would, on the whole, be a benefit to public health.

"If we wish to contend with this terrible class of diseases, it is above all necessary that venereal patients should have medical attendance at their disposal."

During the nineties a distinguished Belgian specialist, Dr. Dubois Havenith, organized a conference, which was held in Brussels, under the presidency of the Belgian Min-

ister of Health and the Burgomaster of Brussels, and 295 of those present were distinguished physicians. It was most significant that, after the conference, some of the most prominent Continental as well as English physicians utterly denied the value of regulation. Three out of the first four speakers, Dr. Blaschko, of Berlin, Augagneur, of Lyons, and Barthelemy, one of the medical chiefs of the St. Lazare, condemned the existing system. (Seligman.)

Fournier, the greatest syphilographer living, after years of practical experience in charge of the whole system in Paris, acknowledges the utter failure of regulation.—“In spite of all efforts at regulation, venereal diseases abound and superabound.” Our own Prince A. Morrow is utterly opposed to any form of regulation. (Social Hygiene and Marriage, page 342.) Neisser, our greatest living authority on gonorrhœa, and the discoverer of the germ which caused it, is strong in his opposition to segregation and regulation. He says: “One thing is certain, everyone agrees—the partisans of regulation not excepted—that the methods actually in use for diminishing the evils of prostitution cannot be considered effective. The organization and administration of the surveillance, medical and police, are so defective that, in our opinion, but little is to be expected from it.” (Bull. de la Soc. Internat. de Prophylaxie Sanitaire at Morals, I. 1.), and “The system of supervision and regulation of vice which exists is more designed to force into the depths the girls who are on the downward path, and to retain in the profession of prostitution those who are already under police control, than to lighten their return to the right.” (Neisser, Conference Internat. Brussels, 1899.) The effect of regulation simply means that the woman is more likely longer to remain a prostitute. (Yves Guyot, La Prostitution.)

“Inscription upon the register of the bureau of morals is the final stage of vice, the final term of degradation. It is the official formality, which, like the *licentia stupri* of the Romans, regulates and legitimates the sad trade of prostitution. It is, in a word, that sinister act which severs a woman from society and makes her a chattel of the Administration.” (Dr. Hippolyte Mireue, La Prostitution a Marseilles.) “The more regulated prostitution there is in a country, the more prostitution of every kind will develop. And where there is regulated prostitution there is late marriage and the growth of population descends to a minimum.” (Armand Depres, La Prostitution en France.)

Clifford G. Roe,* former Assistant States Attorney of Chicago, for a long time engaged in investigating these

*A member of the National Vigilance Committee, and President of the American Alliance for the Protection of the White Slave Traffic.

conditions, and the writer of a remarkable work "Panderers and their White Slaves," declares himself, as the result of his investigations, as utterly opposed to all forms of segregation and in favor of extermination.

Dr. O. E. Janney, who has most carefully studied the subject and is widely known as an authority, has written a book, "The White Slave Traffic in America" (published by the National Vigilance Committee), in which he devotes his whole energy to opposing both the system of indifference to which we have grown accustomed and the system of regulation which has so conspicuously failed abroad.

Professor Seligman, to whom, as I have said, I am indebted for much valuable information, and who has placed me under special obligation by an unusual act of kindness in sending me the advance proof sheets of his great and authoritative work, makes the following strong and convincing statement:

"There is only one point I should like to emphasize, as leading up to the position which I take—and, I may say in this respect, it is the position which, so far as I know, is taken to-day by all the surviving members of the Committee of Fifteen. It is a remarkable fact, that when we came together to investigate the problem, knowing very little about it—just about as much or as little as does the ordinary man or woman,—the great majority of *us were in favor of regulation* on the principle that it could do no harm and might do some good. It was only after a prolonged study of the situation as regards both the facts and the principles involved—that the committee came unanimously *to the conclusion that regulation or reglementation was inadvisable and inadmissible.*"

Jane Addams, in a series of remarkable articles,* and with the crushing logic of the awful facts adduced from her own wide experience, portrays in true and vivid colors the depths of vice and crime to which we, the American people, have descended under the existing conditions of tacit consent and indifference.

The Vice Commission of Chicago, in a study of existing conditions with recommendations, issued a report in 1911, covering 368 pages, which seems destined to occupy a most important place in the history of this subject.

The conclusions of this commission are unassailable because of the independent and representative character of the men and women who composed it, as well as on account of the thoroughness with which the work was done, and the frank fearlessness with which their conclusions are presented. The report breathes throughout an atmosphere of

*A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil. "McClure's Magazine." 1911-1912.

moral vigor, too often lacking in the timorous lukewarm statements to which we have grown accustomed from committees of good citizens.

At the very outset (p. 17), in its "Introduction and Summary," this report declares in bold capitals:

"PERSISTENT REPRESSION OF PROSTITUTION THE IMMEDIATE METHOD; ABSOLUTE ANNIHILATION THE ULTIMATE IDEAL,"* and "That there must be constant repression of this curse on human society is the conclusion of the commission after months of exhaustive study and investigation—a study which has included the academic with the practical, moral ideals with human weaknesses, honesty of administration with corruption, the possible with the impossible. It has sought to meet all questions fairly; it has made every effort to work with intelligence; it has kept constantly in mind that to offer a contribution of any value such an offering must be, first, moral; second, reasonable and practical; third, possible under the constitutional powers of our courts; fourth, that which will square with the public conscience of the American people."

In a splendid report by the Vice Commission of Fifteen of Minneapolis, issued to Mayor Hayne, last year (1911), the conclusion is stated in these words: "And now, your Honor, the large and exacting task of your commission is at an end. That the work is imperfect, no one can more fully realize than the members of this body themselves; we believe, however, that the main position, *Enforcement of Law Against Public Prostitution, is unassailable*. We shall be glad of all criticism that is not merely captious or that does bear the suspicion of a financial interest in the policy of segregation."

The American Society of Social and Moral Prophylaxis, a complex body of all classes and faiths, will not even tolerate the discussion of segregation as a method of treatment of this question on account of the waste of time.

I do not suppose an intelligent woman has ever been found to favor segregation, which involves conditions so insulting, so intolerable to her sex.

The following incomplete list of societies and other agencies for the suppression of vice bears witness to the spread of the propaganda:

A National Vigilance Committee exists in all European nations(except Turkey). also one in the United States, for suppression of the White Slave Trade. (Journal of the latter, "Vigilance.")

The American Federation for Sex Hygiene.

The American (N. Y.) Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis.

*Two years ago there were as many prostitutes in Chicago as in New York.

The Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Social Disease.

The Florence Crittenden Missions.

The International Federation for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice.

La Ligue Française de la Moralité.

Der Deutsch Nationalkomitee zur Internationaler Bekämpfung des Mädchen-handels.

Le Comité National Espagnol Patronata Real para la Repression del Trata de Blancas.

The International Bureau of the Vigilance Committee in London.

The New York Society for the Suppression of Vice.

The Maryland Society of Social Hygiene.

The Connecticut Society of Social Hygiene.

The Maryland Society for the Suppression of Vice.

The New Jersey Society for the Prevention of Social Disease.

The Illinois Vigilance Association.

The World's Purity Federation.

The California State Society for the Prevention of Syphilis and Gonorrhœa.

International Federation for the Prevention of State Regulation of Vice. 1875 (meets yearly).

The Brussels International Conference. 1889 and 1902.

The Third International Conference. White Slave Congress. Madrid, 1910. (Next meeting, London, 1913.)

The Chicago Vice Commission. 1911.

The Minneapolis Vice Commission. 1911.

Let me then state the case against segregation. Segregation does not, never has and never can thoroughly segregate. The little handful of women under inspection in a given community is but an index of the army of clandestine prostitutes. The futility of all efforts to segregate effectually is shown by the following official figures for three large European cities, where there is a registration list averaging about 10 per cent. of the whole number:

Paris—Police estimate, 45,000; registered, 6,000.

Vienna—Police estimate, 30,000; registered, 3,063.

Berlin—Police estimate, 30,000; registered, 2,016.

Segregation does not protect the public, both because of the inefficiency of the medical examinations, which under any and every political system have at once become farcical and subject to corruption and graft, and because of the false confidence of safety instilled into the boys and men.

Dr. Frederic Griffith, writing of his observations in Paris, states that he has known 400 women examined in an hour and a half! ("New York Medical Record," April, 1904.)

In Berlin the Wasserman reaction has shown that after the lapse of one year almost 100 per cent. of the prostitutes have syphilis; note also that it is not possible to distinguish sharply between the infective and the non-infective stages of the disease.

Segregation is intolerable because it corrupts the police officials who have any dealings with the houses by putting into their hands unlimited opportunities for blackmail and graft.

Segregation introduces a plague spot of vice where violence, debauchery and wild orgies nightly run their gamut of crime, often even including murder, unchecked.

Under a system of segregation a man hungry with lust is never satisfied, while seduction and the violation of virgins outside the segregated districts is far commoner than under repression. The encouragement of vice which is thus tolerated in one section of a city can never be confined to that section. The man who enters the segregated district for an immoral purpose carries his immorality and his physical disease wherever he goes, so pervasive and so infectious are these deadly moral and physical miasms. Their diffusion is perfectly demonstrated in the universality of the diseases which are the fateful messengers from the prostitute to her sisters outside of the district.

One capital reason why segregation fails is that it is not even meant to segregate, but simply to legalize an enormously profitable business of bawdy house keepers and panderers, who desire for their own profit to fix upon the people a diabolical trade in the souls and bodies of girls. Once established, with the vantage ground of legal protection, they will ply their trade as they have in the past, as they do to-day in Baltimore and other large cities, until from our whole land there goes up the stench of the moral corruption which engulfs all our youth, sparing no age and no condition in the social scale, so rapidly and so absolutely does injured purity avenge itself.

General Theodore A. Bingham, ex-Police Commissioner of New York City, says:

"It is easy to prove that a large proportion of the women must be forced or enticed into the life. If women, in large numbers, were willing to become prostitutes it would not be necessary to have such enormous machinery (as that of the White Slave Traffic) to recruit the ranks. The cadet himself would be unnecessary. But so unwilling are women to debase themselves, that the cadet, the dance hall, the Raines law hotel, false marriages, drink and even force are necessary to keep the hideous thing flourishing."

This point is of such great importance that I reinforce it by a further citation:

"The analysis of the laws, which is fully substantiated by the prevailing conditions under these laws, shows that prostitution is no longer the simple process of a man seeking a woman in a place kept for such a purpose, or that only men looking for such places or women who wish to live in them are to be found there. The defense of prostitution is based on this belief, which is totally erroneous. This form of prostitution exists merely as the center of an elaborate system which has been fostered by business interests rather than as a consequence of emotional demand. The laws show clearly the existing complicated order of commercialized vice." (The Social Evil in New York City, 1910. Committee of Fourteen.)

Segregation is utterly inadmissible as a solution of the prostitution question because no legislative body may by any decree, or by however great a majority, give vice a legal status. It is true acts can be passed and force can be exerted to carry them out, but this does not make the enactment legal, and any right-minded judge can upset it as unconstitutional in the very first case coming to trial. We have too long lost sight of the fundamental fact that morality is the very foundation of the constitutions of all our States. (On this head see Eli F. Ritter on "Moral Law and Civil Law—Parts of the same thing.")

In these instruments which constitute the bodies politic of our various States, the declaration is repeatedly made that it is a necessary part of the very life of a government to promote morality. As the Constitution of North Dakota declares: "Truthfulness, temperance, purity, public spirit, and respect for homes and labor of every kind."

Florida says: "The liberty of conscience shall not be so constructed as to justify licentiousness, practices subversive of or inconsistent with, the peace or moral safety of the State or Society."

The Constitution of Arkansas declares: "Religion, morality and knowledge are essential to good government."

The Constitution of the State of Maryland: "That the Legislature ought to encourage the diffusion of knowledge and "virtue," and "No person shall be molested on account of his religious profession unless, under the color of religion he shall disturb the good order, peace or safety of the State or shall infringe the laws of morality."

Massachusetts affirms that: "The public worship of God and instruction in piety, religion and morality promote the happiness and prosperity of a people . . ." and "Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, are necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties."

I quote also from *The Commonwealth vs. Douglas*, decided in the Court of Appeals: "When we consider that honest morality and religion and education are the main pillars of the State, and for the protection and promotion of which government was instituted among men, the preservation of the trust is essential to the happiness and welfare of the beneficiaries, which the trustees have no power to sell or give away. If it be conceded that the State can give, sell or barter any one of them, it follows that it can thus surrender its control of all, and convert the State into dens of bawdy houses, gambling shops and other place of vice and demoralization, provided the grantees pay for the privileges."

North Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia significantly add (mark well these words, quoted from the North Carolina Constitution), that "A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of Liberty."

I wonder what prophet wrote that sentence! We are suffering to-day because we have forgotten some of our fundamental principles, without which no just government can long exist.

All the great minds that have dealt with the great underlying principles of jurisprudence unite in agreeing with Bishop, one of our highest authorities, that the State rests upon three supports: "Morality, religion and education are the three main pillars of the State and the substance of all private good. A community from which they are banished represents more than the original chaos. Therefore they should be objects of primary regard by the law."

Bishop also says, "But however uncertain may be the precise extent to which the common law protects Christianity, there is no question but that it practically and fully cherishes the public morals, and it punishes as a crime every act it deems sufficiently evil and direct, tending to impair the public morals." Ritter adds that the leading authorities on law and jurisprudence from the beginning of the Christian era down declare that morality is a fundamental principle of civil government, and concludes with this declaration: "I hazard nothing by saying that no legal authority of respectable standing can be found to the contrary."

The rational and simple conclusion of the whole matter then is this: We resolve that we ought, we can, we will fight this vice to its utter extermination in all our broad land; that instead of yearly sacrificing to impure lives thousands of our young men and women, the hope of our country, we will save them for a high and noble citizenship; that we will oppose segregation and regulation of vice in any and every form in which it may seek to establish itself on a legal or quasi-legal basis; and that we will instruct our own boys

and girls, and all the youth of our land, in the simple, physiological facts necessary to guard them from physical and moral harm.

